

# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

NATIONAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

Vol. 1

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NO. 37.

## To Perpetuate Capitalism Would be to Decree Universal Mediocrity and Destroy Civilization.

New Jersey is said to have had a holiday March 6. Not a single trust was formed there during that day.

The good work goes merrily on at Amesbury and it looks more than ever as if these Socialists are a party to be reckoned with," as the old party papers say. Our vote at Amesbury has more than doubled since last fall.

If the workingmen of America expect to improve their condition they must rid their minds of the idea that their interests and those who own the modern tools of production are the same.

When Comrade Chase spoke before the Shoe Makers' club he told the members that before long they might have to face the trust. Now dispatches from Boston tell us they are already on their way; a national boot and shoe trust is talked of and the prospects for its formation are excellent. "In trusts we trust!" Let the good work proceed.

It is reported that Mr. N. O. Nelson will join with forty-four other manufacturers in the formation of a plumbers' supply trust. Whereupon "Jonathan" writes to the St. Louis Post-Dispatch bewailing the fact that Mr. Nelson, the profit-sharer and friend of co-operation, should be in such company. It is probable, however, that Mr. Nelson understands better than "Jonathan" the trend of these days and has learned something from the experience of others who tried to resist the inevitable.

Some of the capitalistic papers in the East affect a supercilious indifference to the succession of political victories which are being scored by the Social Democratic Party, but the following from a Massachusetts paper no doubt expresses the real sentiment of the majority.

"The Social Democrats have succeeded in electing one of their number a selectman of Amesbury, and are still unsatisfied. If the republicans of this district don't get together this fall they will not be given another opportunity so to do for many a day."

It's several good dollars to a can of republican army beef that we'll elect a state senator in that Exeter district at the first opportunity.

Comrade G. B. Benham, of San Francisco, has rendered a distinctly valuable service to a proper understanding of the Paris Commune by Socialists in America, in the publication of his history of that great uprising in 1871. It is a thorough, painstaking and, therefore, creditable piece of work, tracing the events leading up to the Commune and following its development during the three eventful months of March, April and May, with marked conciseness and attention to those details which explain both the events and characters to the uninformed. The book is well indexed and contains in its 240 pages much new matter on a subject of world-wide interest. Price, cloth cover, 75 cents.

On the anniversary of the Paris Commune, March 18, 1871, it is well to recall the social and economic changes which the people engaged in the memorable struggle sought to bring about. An epitome of the Declaration of Principles of the Commune administration is as follows:

"The Commune is the foundation of all political states, as the family is the embryo of human society.

"It implies, as a political form, the republic, which is alone compatible with liberty and popular sovereignty.

"The most complete liberty to speak, to write, to meet and to associate.

"Respect for the individual and the inviolability of opinion.

"The sovereignty of universal suffrage—being forever its own master and constantly able to convolve and to manifest itself.

"The electoral principle for every functionary and magistrate.

"The responsibility of mandatories, and consequently their permanent revocability.

"The suppression of the standing army, dangerous to liberty, and so burdensome to the social economy.

"Suppression of subsidies to creeds, churches and the press.

"Organization of a Communal assurance against all social risks, crises and

### FORWARD IS THE WORD.

Comrades will rejoice to learn that among the new Branches reported this week is one which includes the aggressive and intelligent Public Ownership party of Erie, Pa. This organization has voted unanimously to join the Social Democratic party in a body.

At their recent election they polled nearly 1000 votes upon a platform clear-cut and forcible.

The Erie movement is composed of strong, active and aggressive comrades who understand the social problem and grasp the conditions which make it imperative for the Socialists of the world to unite.

The affiliation of Comrades Chas. Heydrick, Walter H. Miller, Geo. B. Laird (Editor of the People), E. S. Noyes, L. O. Harmon and their colleagues should encourage us throughout the country and at their next election they will bring the beacon light of Haverhill toward the Mississippi valley and drive a wedge into the capitalism of the slave-ridden state of Pennsylvania.

The terse commentary of Comrade Debs on his return from the East was "at the next election they will sweep Erie clean as a platter."

The Branch will be known as the Central Organization, and the intention of our Comrades is to organize in every ward and district in the city and county as fast as possible. They expect to have six ward Branches in the city before the end of March.

En avant! with greetings to Erie.

### THE RECENT REFERENDUM.

Comrade Frederic Heath is in error in saying, as he does in the issue of THE HERALD of March 11th, that the Executive Board declared the recent referendum vote on the adoption of the constitution "off." The Executive Board had no power to do this, and did not do it. The Board merely determined, in view of certain developments which were unexpected, to call a conference for the purpose of consultation as to certain changes which have become absolutely necessary in order for the constitution to be workable. Such conference can be made useful also in other ways.

It is highly important that the constitution shall contain such provisions as will enable the comrades at all times to maintain the integrity of the party, and keep its Executive Board in accord with the party; and this should be done at the inception of the movement. The present Executive Board will do all in its power to bring this about. Jesse Cox.

Mind is ankle deep in New York City and hospitals are crowded.

The government receipts for the past six months amounted to \$245,961,893. It's a good bit, but it will not pay the bills, Mike.

The new Boston Railway station has a new system for switching, by which one man will switch 750 trains daily. It will also switch a few more men onto the cinder path.

The net earnings of the railroads in 1898 were \$372,000,000, and because the government pays exorbitant transportation charges for carrying the mails, the postoffice had its usual deficit. That's because the railroads run the government.

Referring to the town elections in Massachusetts last week, a Boston Dispatch says:

"The surprising part of the results is the increased vote of the Social Democrats. Wherever they had a ticket the vote was an astonishment. The Socialists did not campaign with a hurrah, and when they captured the mayoralty and five seats in Haverhill last fall the whole State was shocked.

This year the Haverhill people went over to Amesbury and helped the local branch, and the result was the election of Jason Spofford, Social Democrat, to the office of selectmen. All over New England the seed left by Eugene V. Debs, when he was here during the strike two years ago, seems to be getting in its work. The Socialists are cheerful and quiet, though the propaganda work goes right on. They figure that earnest work will capture more, and that votes enough can be cast in time to control all New England."

### THE AMESBURY ELECTION.

The Socialist Vote More than Doubled Since the Fall Campaign.

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" " Mar., 1899.....522

At the close of the campaign last November, the comrades said "we are not going to close up shop, but will keep right on making Socialists, and at the spring election, if we succeed in electing no one, will at least show an increased vote."

That promise has been more than redeemed. At the fall election, Comrade Winfield P. Porter, candidate for governor, received 218 votes. Last week, Comrade Jason Spofford, our candidate for the Board of Selectmen, polled 522, and was elected. Early in the morning of election day the Social Democrats claimed that their canvass gave them 448 votes, and the result shows that they made as good a canvass as the Haverhill comrades.

In the brief announcement of the result which we were able to publish in THE HERALD last week, it was stated that Comrade Chas. S. Wingate was elected as school committeeman. Mr. Wingate's election was announced by the election judges, but later it was discovered that the votes of the women had been omitted. The vote cast by the women of Amesbury was very small, only 63, but 55 of these were given to Comrade Wingate's lady opponent, and she was elected by a majority of 41, according to the full returns given below.

The Amesbury Daily News said: "The election was very hotly contested, a new element having entered it, the Socialists, who for the first time presented candidates for several of the offices. Judging from the result they are a party that have got to be reckoned with in the future. They have shown remarkable strength, more than doubling their votes of last fall. Their success in electing one selectman is a surprise to many, but not so to those who were familiar with the strength they were steadily acquiring. The careful canvass they have made was fully substantiated by the returns. Their candidates all received large votes, especially Chas. S. Wingate, who it was thought was elected as the election officers gave out his vote before the woman's vote was added. Dr. Adams for Board of Health also got a large vote and was close to Dr. Leslie."

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How is this as an index to the growth of public sentiment in favor of Socialism in old Massachusetts? The candidate of the Social Democratic party for governor last fall received 34 votes at Whitman. Last week at the town election the average vote received by our candidates was 255, an increase of 650 per cent. in four months. Again we cry "Hurrah for International Socialism!" and a tiger for the comrades of Whitman!

### THE ROSTRUM.

Unparalleled Popularity of the "Anarchist of '94"—Great Outpourings of the People to Hear Debs.

THE growing interest in meetings addressed by our speakers and the large attendance which greets them everywhere is the best proof of the development and progress of our party. The lectures of Comrade Debs continue to attract crowded and overflowing houses.

At Portsmouth, O., a magnificent audience filled the grand opera house. The Times and Blade published full reports. The former began by saying:

"Hon. Eugene V. Debs delighted a large audience at the Grand Opera house last night. He held their close and undivided attention for two hours and more, and when he closed, there was not a person present who was not sorry, and the concluding words of the great labor champion were lost in a great outburst of enthusiastic approval."

In the grand opera house of Dayton, another great audience greeted the speaker and the most glowing accounts of the address were published in the daily press.

The Masonic Temple meeting at Indianapolis, Ind., scored another great success, and every allusion to Socialism was applauded with intense enthusiasm. The Sentinel said: "Last night an audience of trades unionists that filled Masonic Hall to the doors listened and applauded frequently as Eugene V. Debs addressed them on 'Labor and Liberty.'"

The United Mine Workers' Journal, which is published at Indianapolis, had the following editorial:

"As announced in our last issue Eugene V. Debs favored the citizens of Indianapolis last Monday evening with his newest lecture, 'Labor and Liberty.'"

"The crowd that greeted him at the Masonic Temple, Monday evening, was composed of all classes of people, from the man who taps ties on the section to the man who dwells in a palace and was driven to the hall in a coupe by a uniformed driver.

"Men were there who loved him, others who came merely out of curiosity, while others were there who despised him, because his talents (of which he has many) were being used to the detriment of their own selfish interests. It is not necessary that we should attempt to eulogize Mr. Debs, as he is too well known to the miners of this country. Suffice it to say that before he had talked but a very few minutes his entire audience was at his feet. No matter how much they object to his doctrine or how little they may have thought of the man before, for the time being at least he has them completely within his grasp. His genius is so great and he is endowed with so much eloquence that he play at will upon the hearts of his hearers like a trained pianist touches the keys of the instrument. And as the one pours forth sweet strains of music that delights the ear and cheers the heart, so the other, by his genius of eloquence and the matchless word painting, gives us an inspiration for the higher and nobler things of life.

"For full two hours Mr. Debs held his audience and when he concluded the rich and poor, young and old, male and female, all rushed to the platform to grasp the hand of the mighty leader of the people. Riley was right when he said—

"An' there's 'Gene Debs—a man 'at stands An' just holds out in his two hands As warm a heart as ever beat Betwixt here and the Judgment seat."

At Linton, Ind., the opera house was filled to the doors. The Linton Call published more than two columns of a report which was exceedingly complimentary.

The lecture at Dayton was given under the auspices of the Central Trades Council, at Indianapolis, the Central Labor Union; and at Linton, the United Mine Workers.

Comrade Debs is pouring straight Socialism into the working class through their labor unions and no man is more in demand by these unions than he in every part of the country.

Following the Indianapolis lecture, the Terre Haute Tribune said editorially: "In 1894 the Indianapolis newspapers almost without exception relegated Eugene Debs to the limbo of discredited strike and labor leaders and said like Martin Irons he never again would be listened to by workingmen. Night before last the large Masonic hall in



# ANARCHISM AND SOCIALISM

By ISADORE LADOFF.

PART II.

LET us try to define what we Socialists mean by state or government. We mean by it nothing more nor less, than the direct administration of all public affairs by the people itself. The highest aim and purpose of government or, if you prefer, national administration, is the attainment of the highest possible ideal of ethics and the state has to be looked upon as the means of attainment of the highest possible happiness of mankind. The rights of individuals have to be sacrificed only as far and as long as it is absolutely necessary to the welfare of society at large. Coercion is not an essential function of the State. Attractive legislation is preferable to prohibitive and enlightened citizenship is possible without the use of force. Politics may be treated as a special science, which, in conjunction with political economy and jurisprudence, represents a part of the system of humanitarian sciences known as social science. The object of the science of politics is the State, the theory of statecraft and the description of the different forms of government in the past and present. The origin of the state was supposed by the scientists and thinkers of the past century to be a voluntary agreement between the citizens of a given locality, a "Social contract," as J. J. Rousseau styled it. It was supposed, that people lived originally in a so-called natural anarchistic state and then agreed to create the State. The anarchists still adhere to that myth, reminding us of the teaching of the church about the fall of man, but all scientists abandoned it for the historical point of view. Man is a gregarious being. On the lowest stages of civilization there are already noticeable some elements of authority, this essential attribute of the State. There was a time when the State tried to subject all the economical activity of the nation to the fiscal interests of the State treasury. Hence arose a violent opposition upon the part of a certain economical school. The opposition was well founded and led to the policy of non-interference of the State in economical affairs. The era of industrial anarchy called capitalism was the result. It went from bad to worse. The Socialistic State will resume the control of the economic industrial functions of society, but not in the interests of the fiscal, however. The purpose and aim of this control will be purely ethical, the protection of the human individuality from the fate of a mere accessory to tools of production, the preservation of the life, health and wellbeing of the toiling masses. It will not be the State of the past or present, but a new institution, corresponding to the needs and demands of a new social system. It will be the highest stage of human consociation attainable. Each citizen will have certain functions to perform and the duty of the State will consist in such a correlation of these functions, as to insure the most perfect effectiveness in their performance for the entire society. As the element of profit and exploitation, of competition and compulsion will be entirely eliminated—it will be the obvious interest of each and all to perform their respective social functions in the best way possible. Those who may feel the burdens of citizenship's obligations in the Socialistic state too hard will have the choice of leaving it. But the attractions and advantages of a Socialistic organization will undoubtedly be so great that cases of dissatisfaction with the whole system will be very few indeed.

Says G. V. Ratzenhofer in his "Positive Philosophy of Social Life": "He who belongs to his social group only conditionally and unreluctantly becomes an egoist. But in so far as such reflections spring from the interest of the species, or finally from social interests, they guide the man to moral renunciation of self,

whereby he receives impetus to subordinate or even subordinate his individual weal to that of his community. This is an evolutionary phenomena, which points to the underlying principle of all creation. The production of unifying mutual relationship manifests itself in the face of the individualistic atomizing impetus as indispensable for the natural development of society. The degeneration caused through individualization lead partly to voluntary, partly to forced subordination of individuals in a social union, the more life incites individual interests, the more important is social constraint to limit the degenerating differentiation, in order not to endanger the the species and its social structures through war of all against all."

Clearly there is nothing arbitrary in social life's phenomena. Every phenomenon of social life is subjected to the general laws of causation. The State is no exception from that rule. It is a product of evolution and is bound to evolve as humanity progresses on the road of rationalization and moralization of its social institutions.

The attitude of anarchists towards the State is obviously not only unscientific, but truly irrational. (This attitude is simply a survival of the phantastic conceptions of a Jean Jack Rousseau, about the blessing of a "natural state," which never and nowhere existed.) It is not a progressive, but rather retrograde attitude, an attempt to return to a state of things characteristic only of the lowest stages of animal life. The anarchists deny the the State in the name of the freedom of the individual. But they take, in their short-sightedness, the means for an end.

Freedom is one only of the means of human happiness. But freedom alone cannot guarantee happiness to men. Rather the reverse of it is true. Even anarchists recognize that man is a social being. And social life is unthinkable without some limitations, voluntary or otherwise, of the freedom of the individuals composing it. The anarchistic theory is purely negative and, therefore, purely destructive. It works to destroy authority (how is it about the "authority of science?") in all its aspects, it demands the abrogation of all laws and the abolition of the mechanism that serves to impose them, it refuses all hierarchical organizations (!)

But when trying to build—they turn Socialists, they then "preach free agreement, establishment of such relations between men that the interests of each should be the interest of all." Of course the anarchists pretend to insist on FREE agreement not on free AGREEMENT, which last is Socialistic pure and simple. We are sure, however, that every impartial man will call it a distinction without a difference. Anarchists are against repressive measures as a means of maintaining a certain moral level and rely rather on moral teaching and the practice of mutual help. But so do the Socialists likewise. Anarchists are very solicitous about the development of individual originality. But Socialism will be the best soil for development of originality of thought, of exquisite taste and inventive spirit. The satisfactions of the lower needs will not consume so much time and energy as at present, and there will be splendid opportunities to develop the higher faculties of mind.

Minorities are not less near and dear to the hearts of anarchists than individual freedom. They claim that the Socialistic state will of necessity be a rule of the majority over the minority. But how about the minority of those who may refuse to enter the FREE agreement? "Will they have to take to the woods?" As we see individual freedom, minorities and the State are a kind of fetishes of the anarchistic creed—so to speak. The State is the evil spirit and the other two—the good genii.

The evil spirit must be expelled, and the good genii carefully guarded. There is considerably more heat than light in that creed. We call this dogmatic view on state, individual freedom and minority right—a creed, because there is no valid proof behind it, because it is rather a product of emotion than reason.

How much deeper and broader is the Socialistic conception of the future of society! Socialism does not destroy anything, not even capitalism. Capitalism is bound to work out its own destruction. It lets the dead bury their dead and uses every available material in the present stage of society for the upbuilding of the future society. It has neither prejudices nor superstitions, neither fetishes nor pet genii, which it blindly worships. It does not mix up means with aims. It is strictly evolutionary and scientific in its philosophy, clear in its ideals and appeals with equal success to the intellect just as well as to the hearts of men. Anarchism is the reduction to absurdity of the individualism of H. Spencer, and the individualism of Spencer is half way anarchism.

There is no justification in the criticism of our present industrial anarchy upon the part of anarchists as such. We mean there is no logic, no consistency in it. Our present industrial anarchy, with its principle homo homini lupus is the result of the chaotic play of individual wills, that ought to gladden the heart of every true anarchist. And still all honest anarchists denounce it almost in the same terms as the Socialists. Why? Simply because there is a great deal of confusion of thought in their heads. "What reason indeed have the anarchists to expect" wonders from the chaotic play of individual wills in the future when they condemn its results in the present society? Is it not puerile to expect that wolves will enter into voluntary agreement with lambs to co-operate in "establishing of such relations between them, that the interests of each should be the interests of all?" Where is the foundation to this delightful optimism?

In all nature the species, the race is paramount, the individual plays only a secondary part. Nature is very much concerned about the preservation of the kind, but it cares very little about the preservation of the individual. Should humanity make an exception from that rule, that means, should the interests of the human aggregations be less important than that of a single unit?

Is not the term freedom itself misleading? Only those who do not believe in fixed relations between effects and causes (and their number is fortunately getting smaller every day) recognize a free will. But if there is no free will, what is left of individual freedom? Is not freedom but a mere negation of the opposite condition—unfreedom, dependence, slavery in some shape or form?

Once more we call the attention of the kind reader to the fact, that the exponents of anarchistic ideas, Bakounin, Kropotkin, and others were born and reared in countries whose government is below any criticism, where the State is the worst possible oppressor and exploiter of the people. Naturally enough, the justified negation of the State and government they were most acquainted with, turned into negation of the State and government in general. It is also natural that the preaching of the prophets of anarchism should have the best success in countries so badly governed as Spain and Italy. It is natural, but still a prejudice, the result of just indignation and noble emotions, but nevertheless irrational and illogical in its conception. With the same sharp knife we cut our bread somebody may cut somebody else's throat, but would that be an argument against the use of knives in general? It is natural that bad government should breed anarchists, that means people who are superficial enough to be satisfied with the absolute negation of the use of a tool because it is misused under their very eyes. But negation of that kind cannot satisfy thoughtful people. Negation will only lead them to careful observation and

study, and observation and study is bound to lead them to Socialism. We believe we are justified in claiming that there is not one economist and sociologist of note in this country and abroad, who is not more or less Socialistic in his views. Even the old political parties begin to feel uneasy on account of the rapid spread of Socialistic ideas and emotions among the people and try to throw sand in their eyes by adopting pseudo-Socialistic planks and programs. Such was the State Socialism of Count Bismarck, such is the municipal ownership bowl in the United States. It is hypocrisy, of course. But hypocrisy is the tribute paid to virtue by vice, it is the involuntary recognition of a surely coming dreaded power.

It is not Socialism that prepares the field for anarchism, as some superficial observers believe.

Rather the reverse of it is true. It is anarchism that clears the ground for Socialism. Dissatisfaction leads to negation, negation to thought and study, and thought and study to the affirmation of Socialism. If it were not for the fear of what Mrs. Grundy will say, if it were not for the fundamental moral disease of our time—lack or total absence of the courage of one's convictions—there would be more professed Socialists in this, just as well as in all other civilized countries, than we dare to dream of.

In conclusion let us answer the question: What should be the attitude of the Socialists towards so-called philosophic anarchism? We think that this attitude should be friendly, courteous, but reserved and uncompromising. There is not the slightest doubt of the honesty and high-mindedness of such men as Peter Kropotkin or Elisee Reclus. As we have seen, they are practically Socialistic in their views. But still they are not only not Socialists, but enemies of Socialism—paradoxical as it may sound. Logically they are the natural allies of the capitalistic individualists; emotionally, however, in accord with Socialists. Poor fellows! They may well exclaim with Faust: "Zwei Herzen, ach, wohnen in meiner Brust!" Their ideals are of a past that never existed, of a paradise that could not be lost because it was never found, a real utopia, a nowhere, a nirgendshem. The few grains of truth contained in the anarchistic philosophy are, as we have seen, not anarchistic, but rather Socialistic. And the rest is composed of sand of individualism, on which one can only build airy castles, peopled with phantoms of the imagination. Having no positive ideas and ideals of its own—anarchism is bound to expire long before the Socialist state will be inaugurated. As soon as bad government—the only raison d'être of anarchism shall pass away, nothing will be left for it to feed upon. The present state and government is the Carthage of the anarchists and they are never tired of repeating the keynote of all their philosophy: "Ceterum censeo—carthaginem esse delendam!" But when the new Socialistic Carthage shall be built on the ruins of the old one, the anarchists will have to go out of business.

## SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

The definitions of the two words "Social" and "Democratic" which follow, are taken from Webster's Dictionary:

**SOCIAL**—Pertaining to society or to the public as an aggregate body, as social interests, etc.

**DEMOCRATIC**—Pertaining to Democracy; i. e., Movement by the people \* \* \* in which the supreme power is lodged in the hands of the people collectively, or in which the people exercise the power of legislation.

## What Socialism Is.

Any theory or system of labor organization which would abolish entirely, or in great part, the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute co-operation; would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor, and would make land and capital, as the instruments of production, the joint possession of the community.—Century Dictionary.

## MUSINGS OF A WAGE SLAVE.

[Written for THE HERALD.]

WHO reap the fruits of our labor? Who increase the burdens we bear?

But the thoughtless rich who grasp the wealth?

They surely cannot care For those who sew in the garret, For those who delve in the mine, So long as they see the jewels flash And sip their costly wine.

Who own the lands and the houses? Who drives the fiery span?

But the wealthy one who values A dollar far more than man? For little cares he, if a laborer fall, A victim of greed and strife, So long as the golden stream flows in To insure him an easy life.

Then down with the Godless system That grinds with an iron heel; That fills the pocket of idleness, While it makes the workman reel.

Competition for bread must disappear, As the tide of right rolls on, And co-operation rule in its stead When the battle for life is won.

Yes, down with the Godless, Christless greed

That fills the garret and jail. Down with the system of darkness That starves and kills the frail. God's laws are just, but the laws of men

Have cursed the world around, Aiding the rich and robbing the poor.

While shame and crime abound. Women forced to a death in life By a struggle fierce and long, That the rich may richer and richer grow.

While the weak are robbed by the strong. Shackle the wretch who takes the crust;

Scorn the woman who falls, While the wealthy thief, with his bonds and lands, Lives honored in marble halls.

But the mighty tide is turning With surges deep and strong; The mole hills turn to mountains; The king of wrath leads on.

Go to! Ye rich marauders! Who reap where ye have not sown! The day of vengeance is at hand, When Justice claims her own.

Yea! Hark! I hear the tread of a host With columns deep and wide. Nothing can stem their onward march.

Resistless as the tide. I faintly see, through the gathering gloom,

A struggle fierce and strong; Pray God that it may not be of blood,

But of Mercy and Peace led on. Yea! Mercy and Peace shall conquer Greed.

The lust for gold shall cease, And "Peace on Earth, good will to men";

Shall usher in true peace. Think not, while wage slaves toil and strain,

That faith and hope can grow. Such anxious toil can never bring The joy we seek below.

No more shall landed robbers hoard The rents of stolen soil. No more shall earth behold a man Become the slave of toil.

No more shall the rich exploit the poor, On mountain, or land, or sea, For the land of the true and the home of the brave

Shall become the land of the free. Poverty, vice, and crime shall flee, When comfort and hope are born; Then eyes, grown dim with care erstwhile,

Shall see the millennial dawn. Peace and plenty and joy and love Shall abound from shore to shore. When man, with a brother's love to man,

Shall work for self no more. Yea! poverty then shall threaten no more.

But woman and man be free, And the knowledge of God shall cover the earth, As the waters cover the sea.

WINFIELD P. PORTER.

News from the Branches and notices for publication should be mailed to reach Belleville not later than Monday morning.



# PIONEER SOCIALISTS OF THE WORLD

## FERDINAND LASSALLE.

**F**ERDINAND LASSALLE was born at Breslau, on the 11th of April, 1825. Both parents were of Jewish descent, his father being a wealthy tradesman. The family name was Lassal, but Ferdinand bore little love for his race, and he took the name of Lassalle when quite young. As a son, Ferdinand was extremely fond of his parents, particularly of his mother. When a child he showed an imperious bearing, and Brandes, speaking of his youth, says: "There was something of a Caesar in his youth whom alarmed bourgeois were one day to regard as a Catiline." He was born for power, he bore the stamp of a ruler, and as he did not come into the world a prince or a nobleman, the child of the middle class and a disregarded race, he became a thinker, democrat, agitator and a Socialist, in order to attain in this way the teletem for which he was created."

Destined to follow a commercial career, he was sent to the Trades School at Leipsic; but his mother wished to make him a philologist, and then a professor, but his inclinations took a scientific direction. Leaving Leipsic, he went to Berlin University, thence to Breslau, studied philology and philosophy, and, after a brilliant career, he resolved to go to Paris in 1845. As a youth of 20, in that romantic city, he made the acquaintance of Heinrich Heine, who was then suffering bitterly from persecution, and an intimate friendship sprung up between them. The great Alexander von Humboldt and August Boeckh, the renowned philologist, called Lassalle at that time "Wunderkind," meaning a prodigy.

In 1846, Lassalle, while at work, made the acquaintance of the Countess of Hatzefeld; struck at the ill-treatment of the countess by her husband, Lassalle championed her cause, and for eight years fought the case in the Law Courts, and won for her her rights.

In 1848, a period so fertile with recollections, a revolutionary storm broke out in Paris, spreading to Germany. Just at that time Lassalle was associated with Marx, Engels and Wolff, and, believing that the opportunity had arrived for their cherished communistic design, they set to work. Lassalle being well-known by the working men of Düsseldorf, was charged with their organization, and did it with a zeal that caused him to be arrested by the government. On the dissolution of the National Assembly, in November, Lassalle addressed tremendous meetings, and at Düsseldorf he called the citizens of that city by placard to prepare for armed resistance, as the step taken by the National Assembly was unconstitutional. For this Lassalle was arrested and indicted for high treason, and, after a vigorous defence, was acquitted of the charge, but was kept in prison until he could be tried on a less serious charge of inciting to resistance against officials, and received six months' imprisonment. Humboldt wished to intercede with the king on his behalf—but Lassalle would not hear of such a thing, and when he knew that his sister had done what he refused to let Humboldt do, he wrote to the king to say that it was all a mistake—he desired no free pardon.

The first speech made by Lassalle, a youth of 23, in defence of his conduct at the Düsseldorf court, is a marvelous performance, and historically has no equal. His plea for acquittal was nothing short of a Socialist manifesto to Germany. Brow-beaten by the judge, harassed by the crown solicitor, he fought with a vigor unparalleled in the history of legal proceedings. That was Lassalle as he stood on the threshold of his career, and that was Lassalle when his work was completed.

In 1857 he commenced his great work "Heracleitus" in two volumes. From Düsseldorf three writs of indictment were issued against him. Meanwhile the Prussian Government forbade his entrance

into Berlin under severe penalty—the metropolis closed the gates to him—and his burning desire to see Berlin was so strong that he risked the penalty, and one boisterous evening he entered the city by stealth dressed as a waggoner. He begged Humboldt to intercede for him, and Humboldt succeeded, though Lassalle dared not venture into public life. For several years he had to content with the role of an observer, but in 1862 he published his famous work, "Acquired Rights" (2 vols.) However, stirring events were coming. In 1862 the constitutional struggle began in Prussia, and, in the spring of the same year he was invited to address the ratepayers' associations of Berlin, and his address caused a tremendous sensation. A second address, on the 12th of April, 1862, caused a charge to be laid against him by the Crown Prosecutor, and the case was a memorable one, the result of the trial being four months' imprisonment. Shortly afterwards he published his address in pamphlet form, and a series of indictments were issued against him. He fought the government tooth and nail, and came out victorious. In 1862 saw the remarkable awakening of political movements in Germany—the admission of the working classes to a share in Parliamentary affairs—which aroused great interest in political matters, and the visible progress of Socialism could be seen all through Lassalle's agitation.



FERDINAND LASSALLE.

To give our readers an idea of the tyranny of the government over Socialist propaganda, a law was enacted that forbade any newspaper criticising public officials or publishing statements that were objectionable to the government. The right of public meeting was restricted to a remarkable extent, and no person had the right to carry on the business of a printer or bookseller, or to have a reading room or circulating library without a special permit, a heavy deposit in cash to be placed in the hands of the authorities, besides a heavy bail. However, the moment had arrived, a committee of working men met in October, 1862, and Lassalle was invited; and, knowing that the authorities had made up their mind to put an end to the Socialist agitation, Lassalle replied to the special request thus:

"Theory was of no value without practise, and he made up his resolution that he would enter the fray if it cost him head three and thirty times."

While the working men were discussing free immigration, free trade, protection, free exercise of the crafts, people's savings banks, relief funds, co-operative stores, and such silly nonsense as they are now doing in America, Lassalle answered "that none of them touched the true question—none went below the surface of the social question—they were like the paddle of the steamship agitating the surface of the water, but leaving the depths untouched." The kernel of the labor problem Lassalle saw in the "iron economic law," that the average wages of labor always remain reduced to the necessary subsistence which is conformable with the prevailing standard of the life a nation requires to the prolongation of existence and the propagation of the species." To tinker with the existing system,

Lassalle contended, was only lulling and deceiving the workers, and he suggested the only remedy to be the abolition of the wage system or wage slavery as the only cure, and to be able to accomplish this the parliamentary machine must be captured by the workers, and to that end he suggested—

That the workers must constitute themselves an independent political party, and make universal, equal direct suffrage their watchword—the representation of the working classes in the legislative bodies of Germany—that and that alone can satisfy their legitimate interest in a political sense. Let them acquire their rightful political power and they would soon be able to give effect to their will.

During the winter of 1863 Lassalle was engaged in an extensive series of disputes with the law courts, nearly every municipal body where he lectured had writs or indictments against him. All sorts of charges were laid against him, and at one time he had to answer 55 documents in the form of writs and charges. Twice he was arrested in the streets of Berlin on account of publishing Socialist writing deemed to be treasonable.

In 1864, in consequence of publishing one of his addresses he was arrested again in Berlin and condemned to pay a fine and live years' police surveillance, and on another charge Lassalle made a famous speech which lasted for four hours. Amidst the scenes and tumult of the court the judge and the crown solicitor were amazed at his extraordinary oratorical powers. The proceedings were tempestuous, and fortune favored the brave Lassalle, and he was acquitted.

The next trial arose out of an address at Düsseldorf. After another vigorous defense he was condemned to a year's imprisonment. With this terrible persecution and mental worry Lassalle was physically broken down. At the next trial at Berlin he made a great Socialist speech, the judge objecting, telling Lassalle that he was not on a lecturing tour, but in a law court. Lassalle replied that he wished to teach the judge and Germany Socialism. High words were exchanged, but Lassalle talked over the judge and the crown prosecutor and they looked on the agitator with wonder and astonishment for daring them. Lassalle was never perplexed. If the prosecution advanced an argument against him he had immediately twenty ready wherewith to answer it. He baffled them with his genius.

The last speech Lassalle made was at Ronsdorf, and the last words of this Socialist agitator were:

"May this great and national movement of civilization (Socialism) not fail with my person, but may the conflagration which I have kindled spread farther and farther so long as one of you still breathes. Promise me that, and in token raise your right hands."

The scene was an impressive one as the grave tones of the orator's voice ceased, and the hands were raised in silence.

We will not prolong our biography, nor give a resume of his teachings, it is sufficient to state that he died of a wound received on the 30 of August, 1864. He was interred in the cemetery at Breslau, and on his tomb is found the epitaph, written by the philologist Boeckh:

"Here rests what was mortal of Ferdinand Lassalle, the Thinker and the Fighter."

In conclusion, we who can look back to the stormy years of 1848 and '49 pay tribute to the indomitable courage of Lassalle in carrying Socialism in the market place and in the open forum at a time when it was reckoned vile to be a Socialist. Socialism to-day stands for economic freedom for the worker. Yes, Lassalle, the man who worked night and day like a galley-slave; Lassalle, who spent his fortune, his life for the cause of humanity. He has perished, and we know not how many struggles still lie before us; nor how many fighters like him will have to perish before our movement reach its final goal, but the gravestones of our dead comrades tell us the progress of our movement, and fill us with the certainty of its triumph in the near future.

# Social Democratic Party Platform

## DEMANDS FOR FARMERS.

The Social Democratic Party of America does not hope for the establishment of social order through the increase of misery, but on the contrary expects its coming through the determined, united efforts of the workers of both city and country to gain and use the political power to that end. In view of this we adopt the following platform for the purpose of uniting the workers in the country with those in the city:

1. No more public land to be sold, but to be utilized by the United States or the state directly for the public benefit, or leased to farmers in small parcels of not over 640 acres, the state to make strict regulations as to improvement and cultivation. Forests and waterways to be put under direct control of the nation.

2. Construction of grain elevators, magazines and cold storage buildings by the nation, to be used by the farmers at cost.

3. The postal, railroad, telegraph and telephone services to be united, that every post and railroad station shall also be a telegraph and telephone center. Telephone service for farmers, as for residents of cities, to be at cost.

4. A uniform postal rate for the transportation of agricultural products on all railroads.

5. Public credit to be at the disposal of counties and towns for the improvement of roads and soil and for irrigation and drainage.

## S. D. P. AND TRADES UNIONISM.

"Whereas, We hold the trade union movement to be indispensable to the working people under the prevailing industrial system in their struggle for the improvement of their conditions, as well as for the final abolition of the wage system; we further recognize the urgent need of thorough organization among the workers; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we commend an honest co-operation to that end by the members of the Social Democratic Party of America, by becoming members of the unions in their respective trades or callings, or of the Federal Labor Unions, and strive to organize all such trades as have heretofore not been organized and assist the organization of labor in every way possible;

"Resolved, That in order to more effectively resist the encroachments upon labor we advise organized labor to combine into national and international unions, pledging ourselves to extend to them all possible assistance to accomplish this end.

"Resolved, That we reaffirm the truth expressed in the proceedings of the International Labor Congress, held in London in August, 1896, that while it is absolutely necessary for the working people to make use of the political power in order to secure and enforce the demands of labor, yet differences of political views held by members of the labor organizations should not be a reason for separate organization in the economic struggle, causing dissensions and disruptions.

"Resolved, That we consider strikes and boycotts as historically necessary weapons to obtain the demands of trades unionism; we further recognize in the union label an important factor in strengthening the power of organization, and educating the public to demonstrate in a practical way its sympathy and assistance to the cause of labor; and we therefore indorse all the labels of the bona fide trades unions, earnestly recommending to the membership of the Social Democratic Party of America to patronize only such concerns selling products bearing the same.

"Resolved, That we condemn the attempt to disrupt the labor movement by organizing rival unions to the bona fide trades unions.

"Resolved, That we encourage the movement of organized labor for the establishment of a legal eight-hour workday and the Saturday half holiday.

"Resolved, That we condemn the modern white slavery of the sweating system."

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights.

That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially-due share of their product.

That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system, will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to International Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in this direction, we make the following demands:

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.

2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.

5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

8. Labor legislation to be made national instead of local, and international where possible.

9. National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

10. Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned and the introduction of international arbitration instead.



# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

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## THE HERALD

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Cohen's Columbia Book Store, 935 Washington St.  
J. C. Treanor, 1083 Washington St.  
E. P. Lindsey, 1237 Washington St.  
W. B. Smith, 1575 Washington St.

## Announcements.

### BROOKLYN.

F. G. R. Gordon, of Manchester, New Hampshire, will lecture on the "The Industrial Problem" at Erie hall, 435-7 Broadway, opposite Hewes St., on Saturday evening, March 18th at eight o'clock. Admission free. Visitors are invited.

### NEW YORK.

F. G. R. Gordon of Manchester, New Hampshire, will speak on "The Industrial Problem" at No. 1 Broome St., New York City, on Sunday March, 19th at 2 o'clock. Visitors invited. Admission free.

### TERRY HUT.

There will be an important meeting of the Terre Haute branch next Sunday afternoon, March 19, at Central Labor Union hall, which all members are urged to attend and invite their friends.

## Greetings Across the Pacific.

Victorian Socialists' League,  
46 Bourke St., Melbourne, Australia, Feb. 1, 1899.

Comrade Theodore Debs,  
National Secretary, S. D. P.

Dear Comrade:—At our usual weekly meeting it was unanimously resolved "that greetings and congratulations be sent to all our comrades of the Social Democratic Party of America for their recent successes in connection with the election to the state legislature."

I am instructed to convey to you the above resolution and I may add that the comrades of the Newer World wave their hands in way of greetings across the Pacific to the comrades of the New World, feeling that every gain towards capturing the legislative machinery is also our gain, our movement being essentially international, it has the solidarity that no other movement has. With kind love to all

Fraternally yours

A. C. CASIMIR,  
Sec. Victorian Socialists' League.

Mark Hanna and his man have gone down to Thomasville, Ga., to rest.

Pierpont Morgan has effected a combination of nine companies with but a single thought—profits.

Listen for the squeal of the hotel men? Many of them are already feeling the pinch, owing to a great decrease of commercial drummers. Since the beginning of the trust movement, it is said, over 75,000 traveling agents have packed their grips for good.

With a complete disregard for the New York Journal and the "regenerated democracy," but in strict accordance with the scientific forecast of Socialists, the trusts go right on organizing, and now we have the giant of them all, the pool of the coal interests, with a capital of \$889,000,000, a deal that will effect a saving to the mine owners in operating expenses of \$3,200,000 yearly. The combine is another triumph for that distinguished propagandist, "Comrade" Pierpont Morgan.

GET SUBSCRIBERS FOR THE HERALD.

## THE FARMERS' PROGRAM.

By F. G. R. GORDON.

A GREAT deal of criticism is being made of our "Farmers' Program" by both friends and foes.

That a farmers' program must be included in the platform of a real Socialist party is already recognized by nearly every Socialist party of the world. The next political battle of the great Social Democratic Party of Germany will contain one. So large a proportion of the world's population and wealth producers being farmers, makes a farmer's program absolutely necessary.

The criticism generally made is that the S. D. P. "Farmers' Program" is middle class politics and that our party is inconsistent, inasmuch as we preach the "class struggle" to the proletariat and the "middle class" struggle to the farmers. We do nothing of the sort. First, we state as plain as the English language can express it, that the S. D. P. wants the democratic ownership and operation of all the means of production and distribution. Then, like all Socialist parties, with a view to improve the conditions of labor, we make certain demands. To illustrate, we demand the collective ownership of coal mines. It does not follow that we will mine coal under ideal Socialism. Electricity or something better will be used to perform all that coal does at present, and the power to generate electricity will come from the natural water power in our streams and tides, and from the sun, thus doing away with coal mining entirely.

Because of that, should we take that plank away from our platform? Of course not.

The number of farms in the United States at the present time is 5,000,000 (estimated as per the census reports.) And over 9,000,000 farmers, planters, and wage farm laborers are employed and exist upon these 5,000,000 farms. If you should ask the average farmer in this nation: "Which is the better off, the farm laborer or the farmer?" it is safe to say that eighty per cent of them would unhesitatingly reply the farm laborers. So far as a living goes the tenant farmer, the home owning farmer and the mortgaged cursed farmer, are about all the same. The exception being the bonanza farmers, the value of whose farms are above \$4,000, and it is pretty safe to say that these do not number 100,000 free from debt. That the tenant farmers are increasing everybody admits. From 1880 to 1890 tenant farmers increased in the six New England states 7,246, and the owning farmers decreased 24,117. In the nation during the ten years 1880 to 1890 tenant farmers increased 599,337 and owning farmers 158,951. At present over 35 per cent of our farms are cultivated by tenants. It is all very nice for men who never did a day's work on any farm to sit in the editorial sanctum, and tell all about the farmers and their condition, but experience is much better knowledge. The writer of this has worked at day wages upon the plains of Iowa, with tenant farmers and with house owning farmers, and also upon the hilly farms of New England, he has lived with them and knows them, and thus has the advantage of a personal knowledge.

I say this: "Ninety farms out of

one hundred in the nation are for sale." What I mean by that is simply this, that any one can buy 90 per cent of the farms in this nation by paying, in cash, 75 per cent of their value. This proves beyond all question of doubt that the farmers are dissatisfied, that they want a change, that they will vote for a change just so soon that a real change is presented to them in a clear and intelligent manner. The farmers of this nation are just as ripe for ideal democratic Socialism as the workers in the city, yes, more ripe, because they are better thinkers and better philosophers and have an average of more intelligence than their city brothers. Improving their condition will not make them less dissatisfied with the conditions of the labor world or nation. On the contrary, it will make them more ripe for Socialism. Man is naturally a social animal. He does not like isolation, hence the success—in numbers—of the farmers' organization. The farmer, like all the rest of us, likes the enjoyment of collective association and pleasure which only come with that. He will gladly vote for the "good time-a-coming" just so soon as he knows what it is. The real reason he knows so little about it to-day is because we have never made any real propaganda in the agricultural districts.

PURELY GOLD BLOODED SCIENCE NEVER WON A POLITICAL BATTLE ANYWHERE.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin," did more to free 4,000,000 slaves than any single agency. The business element and the church were both very conservative upon the great question of slavery. But when the great sympathetic heart of the north was aroused, slavery had to go. I believe with Eugene Debs that we must unite the heart and brain to be successful.

The great leaders of Socialism all over the world are generally men who have been won to this cause by a union of sympathy and science.

Let us carefully examine our "Farmers' Program." "No more public land to be sold," means the nationalization of all the present public lands, thus giving to the nation or state control of vast areas of land to be used for the public benefit for all time. It can't possibly do any harm to lease state lands to farmers at a minimum rent, as is now done in New Zealand with great success. This certainly is a step in the improvement of labor. To put the forests and water-ways under the direct control of the nation is certainly a Socialist step.

Second. If a Socialist party were in power in any nation, one of the first things they would do would be the construction of grain elevators, etc., to be used by the farmers at cost. That harms no one, and would put an end to the cursed elevator trust, a trust that extends from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic.

Third. Giving to the farmers a Socialistic postal, railroad, telegraph and telephone service, is not only right from every standpoint, but is practical Socialism thus far.

Fourth. The establishment of a postal rate for the transportation of agricultural products on all railroads is clearly Socialistic, so much so, that no Social Democratic party anywhere will criticize it.

Fifth. The use of public credit for counties and towns for the improvement of roads, soil, irrigation, drainage, etc., is certainly one of the best planks a Socialistic platform can have. It means first, giving employment to the unemployed, it means good roads, it means an increase in the value of the nation's land, and, it does not mean the perpetuation of a middle class.

Our farmers like short hours, they like large incomes, they like luxuries, the theater, the lecture hall, travel and its enjoyments of that life which Socialism alone can give them, and this they will organize and vote for just so soon as we interest them in our program.

It ought to be clear to any Socialist that we can not socialize the land in a day, within five years a dozen, and quite likely a single corporation will run all the railroads in the nation. The same may be said of leather, woolen goods, shoes, flour, lumber, coal,

silver, gold, iron, hats, etc., etc. But does anyone think this will be true of the land? Of course not.

The enactment of our farmers demands would put an end to the Chicago wheat pit and all such gambling parasites, it would put an end to the wheat trust, the beef trust, and the transportation trust; it would be an improvement in the condition of both country and city labor, and a direct step in the direction of practical Socialism. It won't do for a practical party to call the farmers as a class "middle class parasites," "hayseed capitalists," and such like insulting and untruthful names. It's not only unwise but dishonest. The farmers as a class work as hard and have as little as any class. There is a way to win them to the cause of Socialism and the Social Democratic party is the first and only party in America which has shown the way. Our farmers' program may be slightly changed at our next National Convention, but the present program is very near perfect and an absolute necessity from every standpoint of justice and wise tactics.

## Liberty but a Name.

In an address before the Chicago Political Equality League Prof. George D. Herron said:

"Every relation of dependence between man and man, or man and woman, political, economic and religious, and even that of marriage, is doomed. There can be no political equality so long as the marriage system regards woman as the private property of man."

"Only in an economic system in which all the resources on which the people depend are owned and distributed by the people so all stand in equal relation, will there be political equality, will there be anything like a true comradeship between men and women."

"There can be no true comradeship where one stands in the relation of a dependent and the other as a provider. Suppose you suffragists had the ballot. You are each of you dependent on a man, economically, religiously, and intellectually. Your political equality would be but a tantalization. If the resources of the world to-day are owned by the men then the men own the women. There can be no such thing as political equality without economic equality."

"By the present marriage system, which undoubtedly has to be regenerated, the woman is practically the property of the man. Practically before the law, and in accordance with good morals, the woman becomes the property of the man. Of course, there are objections to this. The kindergartens say that the child is the property of the race."

"If you would have political freedom you must apply the ax at the foot of the tree of economic inequality. You would be much surprised if you had the ballot, if that were all you should obtain. All wage-earners have that, and what does it avail them? Political equality is but a mere name to-day. What good does the ballot do the men working on the elevated road? What good does it do the laborers in the stock yards? The rich that own the resources of the world own the poor. Liberty, even in America, under present conditions is but a name."

## Resembled the Lithographs.

The Eugene V. Debs reception committee were at the N. & W. depot this morning to meet the gentleman, neither of them knowing him personally. They were on the lookout for a man who resembled the lithographs, and they found him. A gentleman stepped off the train. The chairman of the committee says "that is Debs." They saluted and greeted him as Mr. Debs. The gentleman smiled pleasantly, gave each member of the committee a hearty handshake, and remarked to them that he was not Eugene V. Debs, only a common traveling man.—Portsmouth (Ohio) Times.

Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, gained total of 22 members in two meetings; two meetings ago 8, last meeting 14. Will try to keep up that rate.

ALBERT F. FORMAN,  
Organizer.

## OUR NEW YORK LETTER.

Comrade Leonard D. Abbott was ill and could not lecture for the West Side branch at Crystal hall, 352 W. 35th St., last Sunday, but Comrade Albert Vogl took his place and delivered an especially fine lecture on "Orthodox Remedies for Present Conditions." Quite a number of questions were asked, which Comrade Vogl answered ably. On March 12th Comrade L. A. Hourwich will lecture on "Overproduction and Underconsumption," and on March 19th Comrade Abraham Cahane will lecture on "The Idealization of the Workingman." Three new members were added to the branch last Sunday. Visitors are welcome to these meetings. Admission free.

A branch of the S. D. P. was organized in the 35th Assembly District last Monday night, at Alvinger's hall, 3465 3d Ave. Next Monday the branch will meet again and Comrades Ingermann, Phillips and Modest will speak.

Across the river in Jersey City Comrade Carl Pankopf has been busy and last Saturday night a branch was organized as a result of his efforts. The next meeting will be held on Saturday night, March 18th, at Kerner's hall, corner Giffith St. and Summit Ave. Those wishing to join should attend. Preparations are on foot to get a good supply of literature and carry on a good agitation for the S. D. P. in Hudson County. Comrade Pankopf is secretary of this branch and his address is 94 Columbia Ave, Jersey City.

The S. D. P. will celebrate the Anniversary of the Commune by holding a festival in Progress Assembly rooms, Ave A, between 2nd and 3d Sts., on Friday night, March 17th. Comrade F. G. R. of Manchester, New Hampshire, will be present and speak, and Comrades L. E. Miller, S. Ingermann, J. Dolinsky, Joseph Baroness and others are down for speeches. The speeches will be interspersed with music and singing. Admission will be ten cents and proceeds will go to the City Central Agitation Committee.

Comrade Dr. Peskin lectured for the East Side branch at 209 E. Broadway last Friday night on "The Labor Movement in New York." To-morrow night Comrade E. H. Thomas lectures at the same place.

Comrade Albert Vogl lectured on "Poverty" at Colonial hall, 101st and Columbus Ave., last Thursday night and to-night Comrade M. London will lecture at the same place on "Labor's Rights and Wrongs." Lectures will be given at this hall on the next two Thursday nights by the Social Democratic Party and visitors are invited. Admission free.

The German comrades are arranging for a festival to take place early in April. Particulars will be given later. The Gross New Yorker Arbeiter-Zeitung, the German organ of the S. D. P. in New York, is fast increasing in circulation and influence.

Comrade Butscher, of Brooklyn, reports matters running along smoothly in his borough. Branch 12 has adopted a good system of propaganda that is bound to bring good results.

In April, probably on the 22nd, the second anniversary of the Forward will be celebrated and Comrades Chase, Carey and Scates have promised to come over from Haverhill to participate in the affair, which will partake of the nature of a reception to the first Socialist mayor and the first two Socialist representatives elected in Massachusetts. We have heard the news from Amesbury with much satisfaction. Some day we expect to do the same thing here. That is, some day.

TOUCHSTONE.

New York, March 9th.

Send in brief reports of your Branch work every week, and mail it on Saturday.



The 35th Assembly District of New York City has a new branch, which was organized on the 6th inst.



# THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

## CONSTITUTION OF LOCAL BRANCHES.

### NAME AND LOCATION.

Section 1. This organization, located at \_\_\_\_\_, County of \_\_\_\_\_, shall be known as Local Branch No. \_\_\_\_\_ of the Social Democratic Party of America and shall hold a charter duly issued by the National Council, which may be suspended or reclaimed by the National Executive Board in case of violation of the laws, principles or regulations of the organization.

### MEMBERSHIP.

Sec. 2. Any reputable person subscribing to the principles of this organization shall be eligible to membership.

Sec. 3. A local branch shall consist of not less than five, nor more than five hundred members, members constituting a quorum.

Sec. 4. A person desiring membership shall make application to a local branch, recommended by a member of said branch, and if accepted by a majority vote shall be enrolled as a member.

Sec. 5. A member may be transferred from one local branch to another by obtaining from the secretary a transfer card and depositing the same with the secretary of the branch desired to be joined.

Sec. 6. A member in good standing may terminate his or her membership by obtaining from the secretary a card of withdrawal.

Sec. 7. Each member shall be entitled to a card of membership, such card to be furnished by the National Council and issued to members by the secretary of the local branch.

### DUES AND FEES.

Sec. 8. The admission fee, which shall accompany each application for membership, shall be such an amount as may be determined by the local branch, provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents to be forwarded to the National Council.

Sec. 9. At the close of each meeting the treasurer shall transmit to the National Council the names of all members admitted at said meeting, their postoffice addresses and a remittance by postal money order of their admission fee.

Sec. 10. The dues of a member shall be payable quarterly in advance, on or before the first day of January, April, July and October, in such an amount as the local branch may determine, provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents per quarter to be forwarded to the National Council. A member admitted on or before the middle of the quarter shall pay dues for the full quarter; a member admitted after the middle of the quarter shall be exempt for said quarter.

Sec. 11. On or before the 5th day of each quarter the treasurer shall remit by postal money order the quarterly dues for the current quarter to the National Council and each local branch shall remit the full amount due for the entire membership of the branch.

### EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Sec. 12. The Executive Board shall consist of five members, elected annually in March, and shall have general supervision of the local branch. It shall be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures, subject to the local branch, as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with this constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

Sec. 13. The officers of the board shall consist of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and organizer, and such others as may be determined, who shall be elected at each annual meeting and serve until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices and as the local branch may direct. The board shall hold stated meetings in March of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

Sec. 14. Any member of the board may be removed by a majority vote of the local branch, provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. Vacancies in the board shall be filled by the local branch.

Sec. 15. No member of the Board shall hold political office except under the Social Democratic Party.

Sec. 16. The local branch shall hold meetings at such times as the members may determine.

Sec. 17. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March, the officers shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices for the preceding year.

### JURISDICTION.

Sec. 18. Local branches shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the State Union and National Council, and the State Union shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the National Council.

### ELECTIONS.

Sec. 19. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March an Executive Board of five members and representatives to the State Union shall be elected, who shall serve for one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

### BY-LAWS.

Sec. 20. A local branch may adopt such laws as a majority may determine, provided they do not conflict with the constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

### TRIALS.

Sec. 21. Any member violating the laws or principles of the organization may be suspended or expelled by a two-thirds vote of a local branch, provided that any charges against a member shall be preferred in writing by a member in good standing and the accused shall be entitled to a fair trial.

### APPEALS.

Sec. 22. Any member having been suspended or expelled may appeal to the Executive Board of the state, and if the decision of that body is not satisfactory he may appeal to the Executive Board of the National Council.

### AMENDMENTS.

Sec. 23. The constitution of Local Branches, State Unions and the National Council is the organic law of the organization and can be altered or amended only by the National Council in meeting assembled or by the general organization through the Initiative and Referendum.

### INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

Sec. 24. Upon application of five per cent. of the membership any matter relating to the amendment of the constitution, the calling of a special meeting of a State Union or the National Council, or the removal of an officer, state or national, shall be submitted to a direct vote of the membership, through the Initiative and Referendum, and a majority vote shall determine the result.

## Can You Help?

PORT ANGELES, WASH., DEC. 7, 1898.

At a meeting held by the Socialists of this city, one of the sisters offered the following:

"Resolved, That as we wish to socialize the State of Washington, and as our worthy brother, E. E. Vail, has been sacrificing himself for the past three years to keep his little Socialist Daily News going without a press, (except a proof press), that we appeal to the Socialists throughout the United States to contribute something to get him a press, if it was only five cents each, as with a press we could do an immense amount of good here in the State."

The resolution was adopted unanimously and a fund was started by each member contributing his or her mite.

We request all papers favorable to Socialism to give this appeal space, and furthermore we will send copies of the paper to all those sending their mite.

Send all remittances to our county central committee secretary, Herman Culver, DAVID O'BRIEN, Chairman Co. Cen. Com.

HERMAN CULVER, Secretary. Port Angeles, Clallam Co., Wash.

## SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

IN his work on the "Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," Frederick Engels sums up the course of the class struggle, its several successive stages and the significance of each in the development of production in the following clear manner:

I. MEDIEVAL SOCIETY.—Small individual production. Means of production adapted to individual use; thence primitively inefficient and paltry, and dwarfish in their results. Production for the immediate consumption, either of the producer himself or of his feudal lord. Only there, where an excess of production over consumption takes place, is that excess offered for sale and falls into exchange. The production of "commodity" is in its incipency; but already it contains in embryo the ANARCHY OF PRODUCTION IN SOCIETY AT LARGE.

II. CAPITALIST REVOLUTION.—Transformation of industry, first through simple co-operation and manufacture. Concentration of the hitherto scattered means of production in large workshops, and thereby, their transformation from individual into social means of production—a transformation that, on the whole does not affect the form of exchange. The old forms of appropriation remain in force. The CAPITALIST makes his appearance. In his capacity of owner of the means of production, he appropriates the products also, and turns them into "commodities." Production has become a social act. Exchange, and, together with it, appropriation remain individual acts, acts of the individual. THE SOCIAL PRODUCTS ARE APPROPRIATED BY THE INDIVIDUAL CAPITALIST. This is the fundamental contradiction from which arise all the contradictions in which present society moves and which production in gross brings to light.

A.—Severance of the producers from the means of production. Condemnation of the worker to life-long wage-labor. CONTRAST BETWEEN PROLETARIAT AND CAPITALIST CLASS.

B.—Growing predominance and increasing effectiveness of the laws that govern the production of commodities. Unbridled competitive struggle. Contradiction between social organization in the separate factories, and social anarchy in production at large.

C.—On the one hand, perfection of machinery made by competition compulsory upon every individual manufacturer, and equivalent with ever increasing displacement of labor—the industrial RESERVE ARMY. On the other hand, boundless expansion and production, equally a compulsory law of competition to every manufacturer. On both hands unheard of development of productive forces, excess of supply over demand, overproduction, glutting of the markets, decennial crises, the vicious circle: here, a superabundance of products and means of production; yonder, a superabundance of workmen without employment and without means of existence. But these two forces of production and social well-being cannot combine because the capitalist form of production prevents the productive powers from operating and the products from circulating unless they first convert themselves into capital—a thing that their very superabundance prevents from being done. The contradiction has become an absurdity; THE MODE OF PRODUCTION REBELS AGAINST THE FORM OF EXCHANGE. The capitalist class is convicted of incapacity further to direct its own social powers of production.

D.—Partial recognition of the social character of the powers of production forced upon the capitalists themselves. Appropriation of the large organism of production and communication and transportation, first by STOCK COMPANIES, next by the STATE. The capitalist class shows itself to be superfluous; all its social functions are performed by hired employees.

III. PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.—Solution of the contradictions. The proletariat seizes the public power, and, with its aid, turns the power

of production, that have been slipping from the hands of the capitalist class, into public property. By this act it frees the means of production from their previous capitalist quality, and gives their social character full freedom to assert itself. Thenceforth, social production upon a pre-determined plan becomes possible. The development of production makes the continuance of several social classes an anachronism. In proportion as anarchy in the production of society disappears, the political authority of the state becomes dormant. Man, finally master of his own form of social organization, becomes at the same time lord over nature—lord over himself—in short, free. To accomplish this work of universal emancipation is the historic mission of the modern proletariat. To investigate its historic conditions, thereby its nature itself, and thus to impart a consciousness of its own motion to that class that, oppressed to-day, is called upon to do the act—that is the task of the theoretic expression of the movement of the proletariat, i. e. of scientific Socialism.

## THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

### The Political Strength of Socialism from 1867 to 1898.

Many persons whose sympathies are with the cause of Socialism are heard to say that while they believe in it, it will never win. This is said without a knowledge of its growing power in the world. Below will be found the Socialist vote in those countries where the people have the elective franchise. A study of these figures should put faith and courage into all who believe in Socialism but say "it cannot win." The fact is that it is winning, its development is truly remarkable. Outside the countries named the movement is growing in like proportions.

AUSTRIA.	
1895.....	90,000
1897.....	750,000
BELGIUM.	
1894.....	334,500
1898.....	534,324
DENMARK.	
1872.....	315
1884.....	6,805
1887.....	8,408
1890.....	17,232
1892.....	20,098
1895.....	25,019
1898.....	32,000
FRANCE.	
1885.....	30,000
1888.....	91,000
1893.....	590,000
1898.....	1,000,000
GERMANY.	
1867.....	30,000
1871.....	101,927
1874.....	351,670
1877.....	486,843
1878.....	437,158
1881.....	311,961
1884.....	599,990
1887.....	763,128
1890.....	1,427,298
1893.....	1,786,738
1898.....	2,125,000
GREAT BRITAIN.	
1895.....	55,000
ITALY.	
1893.....	20,000
1895.....	76,400
1897.....	134,496
SERVIA.	
1895.....	50,000
SPAIN.	
1893.....	7,000
1895.....	14,800
1897.....	28,000
SWITZERLAND.	
1890.....	13,500
1893.....	29,822
1896.....	36,468
UNITED STATES.	
1890.....	13,704
1891.....	16,552
1892.....	21,512
1893.....	25,666
1894.....	30,020
1895.....	34,869
1896.....	36,275
1897.....	55,550
1898.....	91,749
TOTAL ESTIMATED STRENGTH.	
1898.....	5,000,000

# LABOR

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BY THE

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(MISSOURI ORGAN.)

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The trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

—Social Democratic Party Platform

Social Democratic Party of America.

Organized June 11, 1898.

OBJECT.—The Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution, through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.







# WORLD OF LABOR.

## INTERNATIONAL.

BERLIN, GERMANY.

Within two weeks the Social Democratic workmen of Germany have collected about 40,000 marks (\$10,000) for the families of the poor union carpenters that were sentenced in Saxony to long imprisonment for taking part in a strike riot. The Arbeiter-Zeitung in Dresden, the organ of the Social Democratic organ, says: "The capitalist press believed the poor families of our imprisoned brothers would fall into misery and suffering; they are badly mistaken. The working class will not allow the poor women and children to suffer while their husbands and fathers are behind prison walls by order of the heroes of class justice."

AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND.

The specifications of the contract for the Post Office Savings Bank now being erected at Amsterdam provide for the payment of a minimum rate of wages, 4 1/2 d. per hour for artisans and 3 1/2 d. per hour for laborers; and the hours of labor are not to exceed eleven per day. This is the first instance of any such provisions being introduced into a government contract. The Social Weekblad states that the municipalities of Middelburg, Nijmegen, and Amersfoort have inserted wage clauses in recent contracts.

ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA.

The trust is growing in the Muscovite Empire. The Austrian Consul-General reports that the sugar syndicate was founded at Kien in 1887, and re-established in 1895. The trust is composed of 210 of the 217 sugar factories established in Russia, and its principal object is the regulation of the production of sugar so as to keep up prices, which fell in consequence of over-production in 1895.

ZURICH, SWITZERLAND.

The movement in favor of uniting all trades organizations and Socialist factions in Switzerland into one powerful Social Democratic party on the one hand and into a strong trades union federation on the other hand, is making splendid progress. A general Socialist congress will soon be held to arrange the preliminary for the great work of Socialist consolidation.

MADRID, SPAIN.

The Spanish workers are now feeling the full effects of the recent war with the United States. In the southern provinces the number of unemployed is enormous. At Malaga it is reported there are over 20,000 without work. The Spanish journals state that acts of pillage are daily committed on shops which retail any kind of foodstuffs.

LONDON, ENGLAND.

A magnificent demonstration in favor of International peace was held in St. James hall, March 8. Comrade Hyndman presided. Speeches were made by Liebknecht of Germany, Vandervelde of Belgium, Jaures of France, Keir Hardie, Quelch and others.

STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN.

Comrade August Palm, the man who held the first Socialist meeting in Sweden, celebrated his 50th birthday and the Social Democratic Party celebrated the day with its old brave comrades. He received many telegrams and letters of congratulation and a number of presents.

MAYENCE, GERMANY.

The City Council of this city decided to grant a pension to all the workmen that are in the employ of the city at least ten years. The pension will be at least 20 per cent of the wages received by the men and may be increased to 40 per cent.

NUREMBERG, GERMANY.

The City Council of this city decided to have a number of small residences built which shall be rented out at a reasonable price to workingmen. These houses will be provided with the best sanitary improvements.

STRASSBURG, GERMANY.

Socialism is making splendid progress among the rural population of Alsace-Lorraine. The clericals are doing all in their power to check the onward march of Social Democracy, but without success.

DRESDEN, GERMANY.

The paper hangers in this city have decided to demand the nine hours workday and to inaugurate a strike in case their demand should not be granted.

BUCHAREST, ROUMANIA.

A great number of Socialists were expelled from the Roumanian territory. This, however, will by no means check the Socialist movement in this country.

BUDAPEST, HUNGARY.

The Social Democratic Party of this country will hold its annual congress April 2nd and 3d. The Socialist farm laborers will hold their convention April 4th and 5th.

COPENHAGEN, DENMARK.

The strike of the women tailors in this city has been settled in favor of the strikers. Over 1000 women were interested in the strike.

BIEL, SWITZERLAND.

Comrade Reimann has just been elected as the first Social-Democrat to enter the municipal council of this city.

### Whitman Election.

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The above were the only offices for which we had candidates in the field, and as we cast but 34 votes for Winfield P. Porter for governor last November and an average of 255 at the town election, it can readily be seen that we have made a tremendous gain, in fact we had nearly one-third of the whole vote. Our much advertised Comrade John C. Chase, mayor of Haverhill, was with us Saturday evening and spoke to a crowded house and made a great impression on his audience which was very generous with applause. After the close he answered a number of questions to the satisfaction of all. He is a very easy and fluent speaker and the comrades were so much pleased with him that we have him booked for another engagement shortly. He was favorably impressed with the sentiment here. Hurrah for Amesbury! DUFF.

Whitman, Mass.

**65 SOCIALISTS** and reformers—Biographical sketches of German, English and American leaders—Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Bebel, Ruskin, Morris, Hyndman, Blatchford, Bellamy, Gronlund, Casson, Wayland, Stetson, Sprague, Vail, Debs, Carey, Edwards, Gordon, Berger and others, with 43 Photo Engravings. A souvenir handbook, 50 pages, 8x11. While they last will mail at 50 cents per copy if you mention the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

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## THE ROSTRUM.

[CONCLUDED FROM PAGE ONE.]

that city was crowded with trade unionists, according to these same newspapers and they cheered him as 'Our own Eugene.' What is true of Indianapolis is true of all other cities where he speaks. There is not only personal favor but a deeper and more interesting significance in these receptions of a man who a few years ago was denounced as an anarchist for saying what he is still saying to the people. Since then preachers and others everywhere who are supposed to represent the moral and conservative have begun to talk in this same strain."

The trades unionists are coming to the Social Democratic Party. Their more progressive members are Socialists, and it will not be long till the trades union movement is permeated with Socialism and then the trades union movement and the Social Democratic party will move forward on parallel lines, the former fighting industrial battles and the latter routing the enemy on the political field until the last vestige of capitalism disappears and a Socialist commonwealth is established. And this must be accomplished in our own time. Forward, march!

### Will Wish They Had Placated the Monkey.

A wise man named DeLaveleye made this remark some time since: "To issue from primitive simplicity and suddenly to grow enormously rich threatens immorality and ruin. This we now witness in the United States."

DeLaveleye ought to come and take another look nowadays. "A hundred millions" here, "a hundred millions" there; stupid extravagance and ostentation on this side, poverty—intelligent poverty—and discontent on that side.

Men who cannot get rid of the vast sums which they have not earned. Men just as good, with the same brains and the same rights, who cannot get work or a decent living, no matter how humbly they beg or how patiently they wait.

A man is a dangerous animal when he really makes up his mind that he has not a fair chance. A discontented feeling is growing in this country. Something will have to be done, or someone will get hurt, and that someone ought really to begin to think the situation over now.

The Debs outbreak in Chicago was a warning symptom. A few such symptoms, and a convenient Grover Cleveland to order out all the soldiers as requested will not fill the bill.

We believe that the necessary something will be done by the good and intelligent men who think of others and of justice even when their own stomachs are filled. We believe that the real democrats of America will meet the emergency when it comes. But we think that all indications point to sleepless nights in the future for men whose happiness is tied up in bonds and mortgages.

Let the majority—the slow, blind, optimistic, dull majority—once know that without some radical change their case is hopeless—then, dear bond owners, you will know how the parrot felt as his last tail feather came out, and you will wish with him, that he had placated the monkey before he lost his temper for good.

You think there is no danger here? Ask George M. Pullman's agents what he thought when he had the Debs row on hand. Ask the Chicago underwriters at what rate they would have insured the town of Pullman or any Pullman property at about that time.

There is in this country enough for ALL. You prosperous ones must manage somehow to let the majority at least have a fair chance—and a big majority at that. If you don't you will hear of something to your disadvantage.—N. Y. Journal.

WANTED:—Copies of the Social Democratic, Vol. IV, Nos. 19, 21, 22, 29; and Vol. V, 17 and 24, to complete a file. FREDERIC HEATH, 612 Broadway, Milwaukee, Wis.

## WHAT THE READERS SAY



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# Social Democratic Herald

Official Paper of the Social Democratic Party of America.

ESTABLISHED, JULY 9, 1898.

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## MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

The APPEAL TO REASON has just issued a municipal ownership edition, which is jammed full of facts and figures on this phase of the movement. The price is 40 cents per hundred, \$4.00 per thousand. It is propaganda matter for the branches. The Appeal offers 500 quarterly subscriptions to any S. D. branch sending in 100 yearly subscriptions at 50 cents each. The Appeal costs 15 cents for 3 months or 50 cents a year. Address

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## DEBS ON "LIBERTY."

The great speech of Eugene V. Debs on "Liberation Day," delivered at Battery D, Chicago, on the occasion of his release from Woodstock jail has just been printed in pamphlet form. The speech has become a classic in labor literature; every friend of liberty should have it.

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